1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a crime.

In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

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He was a medicine man and a ranking war leader, which meant that he was perforce a man of status, even among the tribal full-bloods.

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, it should be noted however, that from a general social point of view, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered mean by the people; yet if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through *coups*, there was little to prevent him from being as free a Bluebeard as he wished—except that wives became harder for him to get.

Attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare. The one case, given by Talker, is interesting for its many facets, and significant for its outcome. It shows that given time to let the revenge feeling cool, coupled with a recognition of provocation to kill, certain murders might be overlooked.

Case 18. Murder: Wife destroys husband
Informant: Talker (Abstract of History recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.)

The husband had been abusing his wife in attempts to force a confession of unfaithfulness from her. One day when he had prepared a fire over which to roast her, she seized and stabbed him and cremated him on the pyre he had intended for her torture. Then she fled for many days to the west until she met Ute Indians. There she was adopted as a wife and lived for a season or two. Then she told her entire story, ending, "and then I threw his body on the fire that had been prepared for me. Because both my husband and I have many relatives on both sides, and because I feared a conflict between the two families, I started out so that there might be no trouble between the two families."

Later she escaped and returned to her people. She repeated the whole episode to the dead man's father, and as she finished, all her relatives burst forth in a great wail for the man whom she had slain. But there was no trouble. The dead man's father announced, "Because my son was so mean to her, and because I had tried to talk to him, and he would not listen nor heed my word, and because both our families are respectable, to do anything at this late date would be unbecoming."

Thus there was no feud, no retaliation.

ACCIDENTAL HOMICIDE

Though the Comanches were more rude than other Plains tribes in their failure to recognize composition for murder, they showed more perceptive discrimination than most primitives in drawing a clear line between murder and accidental homicide. Intent to assault was a necessary feature of murder. A clearly defined case illustrating this principle was given by White Wolf.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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enlarged, it being considered improbable, I suppose, that I 593
would tear myself away from the partner of my bosom. I was no longer made the center-post at their war dances, but permitted to wear the gayly colored feathers in my hair, and with the warriors, "round about the cauldron stout, to dance right merrily." But I was by no means entirely at liberty, nor did their apprehensions that I would escape, if opportunity occurred, entirely vanish. I was not allowed to leave the village alone, nor to carry arms. My duties were those of an attendant upon the chief. He kept me near him always, whether on buffalo hunts or visits to the neighboring tribes. He frequently made these visits, when they required but one day's ride, with no one accompanying him but myself. At such times he was mounted on a power- [714]
ful horse, armed with bow and arrow and a musket—a tomahawk hanging from the pommel of his saddle, and a long knife in his belt; while I rode before him on a sluggish mule, entirely unarmed. We never passed the night together alone on one of these excursions. In a thousand little ways it was made evident he did not regard it exactly safe to place himself within my power.

The most thrilling incident I witnessed during my so- 572
journ with the tribe of the Rolling Thunder was an Indian duel. Among his warriors were two young men, both proud and spirited, between whom there had long existed a deadly animosity. The cause of their quarrel I could never fully understand, further than it appeared there was a young squaw in the case. Time and time again their differences had been brought before the council without any adjustment being satisfactorily effected. At length, when negotiation had become useless, it was determined to settle the matter forever in a most bloody manner.

It was a pleasant morning towards the close of autumn,

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

The Comanches

883 As boys began to approach adolescence, there were a couple of years when they drew away from girls and ceased to play their childish games with them. They ran loose in gangs, racing, hunting, wrestling, and swimming. As their fathers stole stock, they rustled food from the camp. At night they liked to go armed with ropes and cut out riding horses from the herd to joyride on the prairie. If anyone discovered them, all they had to do was to get off and scatter. They were not encouraged by adults in these escapades; neither were they scolded. Their high spirits were tolerated, for that is as a Comanche should be, and marauding youngsters at night were a useful guard against enemy raiders.

593 As the boy grew into adolescence, the normal Comanche pattern demanded extreme brother-sister avoidance, even to the extent of isolating the unmarried adolescent boy in a separate tipi set up behind his parents' lodge. Here he prepared to receive power away from the contaminating grease of cooking utensils, while he was also isolated from incestuous temptation. The brother and sister could never sit close to or touch each other.[7] This social tabu was elaborated to the point where a young man might kill his sister without suffering any social disgrace or punishment if she insisted on violating it.[8]

882 If an older boy became unruly, disrespectful, or insolent, some of the older men made him the subject of cutting sarcasm. It usually was on such an occasion that the youth could not withdraw or save his face. This form of punishment was successful in most cases. Eventually, the youth learned to conduct himself with dignity and in accordance with the social norm set by his elders. Occasionally there was a wrangle between children, but they were allowed to fight it out to the amusement of the onlookers.

881 About the time a boy retired to his own tipi, he went out on his first real buffalo hunt, and should success crown his first effort, it might be an occasion for some kind of celebration. Usually a boy learned to hunt buffalo before going on the warpath. When he had shown his ability as a hunter, he was ready and eager to go on the warpath, for most boys wished to be brave and to win war honors.

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[8] Informant: Kills Something. Kill Something's brother-in-law shot his sister for entering his room after he had warned her not to enter.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This
572 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints*, which is the same word as "friend."

882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe.
582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a marriage group, which established relationships with another marriage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *apʻ*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bɛt*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *ata*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms.

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias.

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

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593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appro- priate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a mes- senger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ii'rii'aiwapi*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 882 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

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had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases.

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely.

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on.

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga-

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

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855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pâ'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most dependent, [554] and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

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though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

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593 684 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. However, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 586 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband. [482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he [841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors, [684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circum-
stance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits
of character more amiable by far than the most of
her race with whom I was acquainted; she sick-
ened and died, when their grief, as usual, was
unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that
I hoped she was better off than when here; – she
smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration
they give of the same, even to the dividing of the
last morsel with each other upon the point of star-
vation, might put many professed christians to the
blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the
cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others
as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed
to take five women; but, in making his selection,
the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence
they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley
a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with
them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the
women to the men differs little from a state of the

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage
wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry
his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224]
he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath
his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she
has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be
the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor
creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the
camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must
go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has
to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, [462]
to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and
bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so
much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or
to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might
please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is
instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the
horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long
night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and
feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the
precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the
publication of it to these poor heathen do them
some good? Would not its peaceful and equaliz-
ing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed
females, could they be brought to bear upon their
cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and unerring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 195 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual
even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden
with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the
quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to
a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from
every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To
the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and
agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commen-
surate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porce-
lain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and
the bland adornments of female character, have given place
to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in
which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies
detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of
punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree
proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war
party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light
and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations,
by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to
the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a dis-
astrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting bar-
barity, that often terminates in death. During the three
days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched
on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where
he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish,
and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately
recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy
every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest.
At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance, than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their movements. A private encampment is formed, deep embosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued. They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

The number of mules and horses that these Indians capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magnificent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daughter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no late) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their 584
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will
[726] not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[782] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[784] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone
462 distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted.

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taβ βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you."

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act.

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter.

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk.

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder.

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90-91.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and
627 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
776 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
787 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
776 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on
784 the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no supernatural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under
756 Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
789 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

/page 33 continued/

C younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising
K that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past
601 hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one
191 lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing
177 gradual change.
602

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the oppor-
K tunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed be-
602 havior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is
178 not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches.
K This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying de-
602 grees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the
606 old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as
593 the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they
178 did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine
C
602 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists
593 that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are
178 gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K [178] young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K [428] after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

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man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches, much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society. Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white
>
> [illegible] 181

Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

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115 159 797 177 593

man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

115 159 797 177 291 080

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photograph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt, starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

142 302

Sanapia's maternal uncle.

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This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society.

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21]

Sanapia's mother and father.

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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

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115 159 177 797 872 [212] They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it. All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

115 159 241 I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer. Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 159 593 756 868 824 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 159 756 868 [871] [582] Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully completed her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

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115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a 115 159 daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 593 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother:

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health.

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the

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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid.

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her pot, [illegible] of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion.

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible.

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept.

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient.

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control.

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final

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115 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection
159 of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite
756 daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does
593 not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

115 Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense
159 medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is
756 received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's
778 feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire.

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house, supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparently the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reservation for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp. In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The displeasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was inclined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort
Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Kee-
ichi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have
sent many students.

[738] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he
was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up
and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much
the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
● 593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked 643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses [231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young 643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on 593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting 584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle,
593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning.
584 177 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her 643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white 593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.
585 177 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife

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was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"Stranger He Come"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming; where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive

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men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as

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a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American Indian–developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was made up soon after the surrender in 1873. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That